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THE VERSES FORMERLY INSCRIBED ON
TWELVE WINDOWS
IN THE CHOIR OF
CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

REPRINTED, FROM THE MANUSCRIPT, WITH
INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES, LITT.D.,

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
DIRECTOR OF THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM.

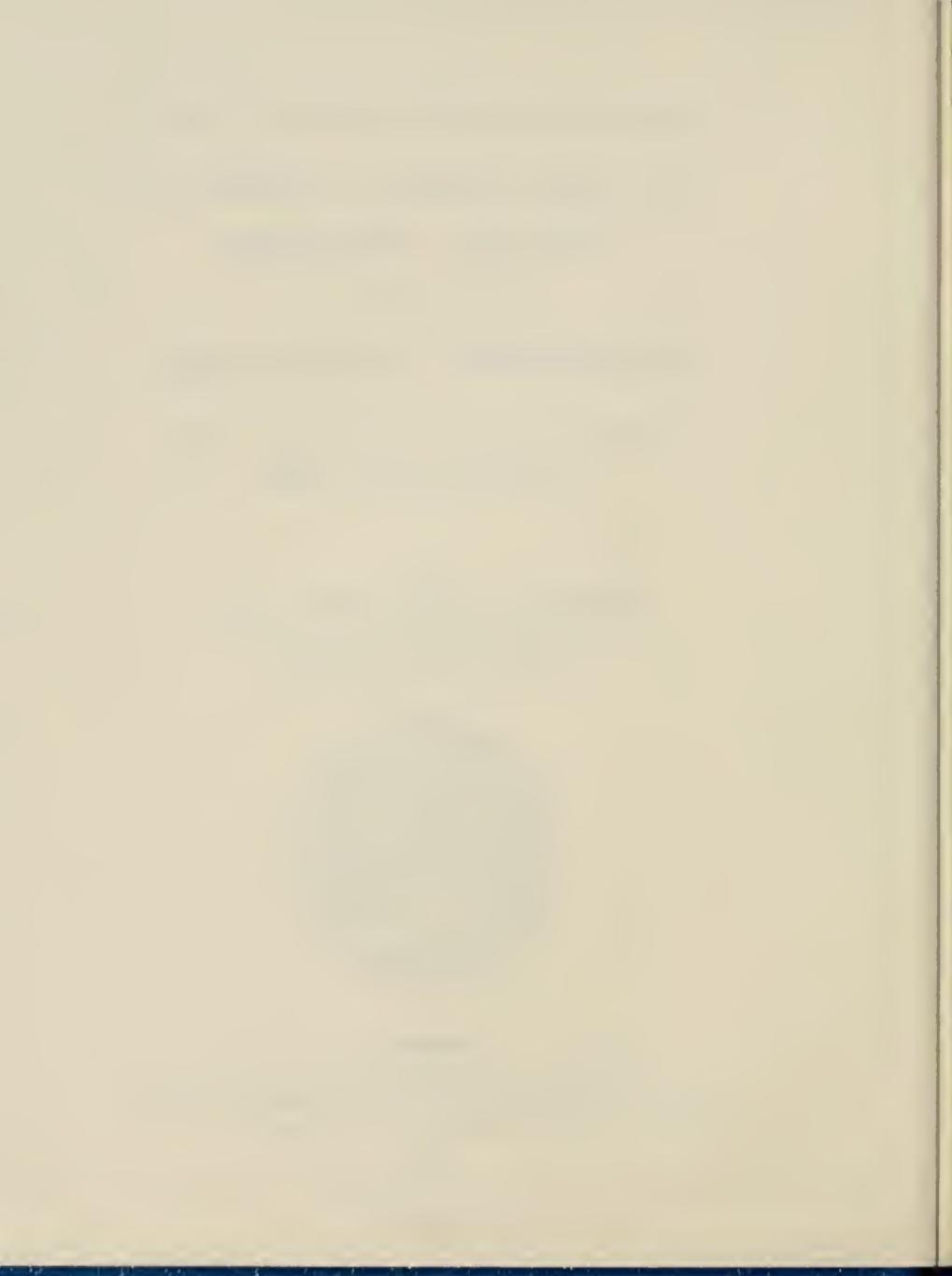


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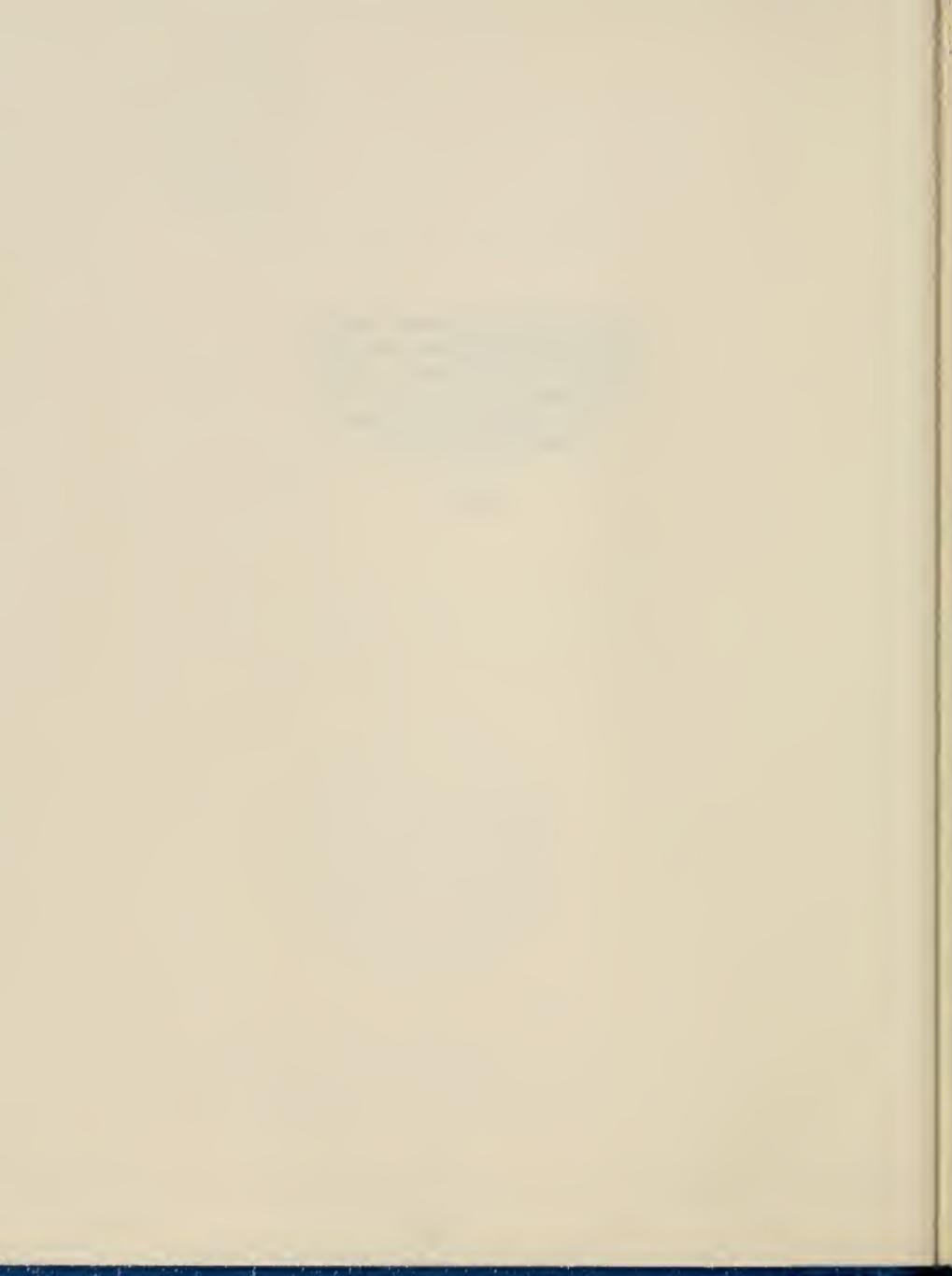
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PREFATORY NOTE.

I HOPE to follow up the present tract by editions of other iconographical texts of less meagre proportions. Foremost among these I contemplate issuing the text of the book called *Pictor in Carmine*, to which many allusions are made in the accompanying pages. I will here subjoin a list of the manuscripts of this work which are at present known to me, partly for the convenience of students, and partly in the hope that other copies may be recognised. The first words of the table of subjects are: "Colloquium Gabriclis et Virginis." The Prologue begins: "Dolens in sanctuario dei" I shall be very grateful for any additions to my list of authorities.

1. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, no. 217. An incomplete text from Worcester.
2. *Ibid.*, no. 300. A fine manuscript, which contains only *Pictor*. I have a complete transcript of it.
3. Bodl. Rawlinson A. 425. Containing only *Pictor*. Imperfect at the end.
4. Bodl. Digby 65, ff. 79—102.
5. Durham, Bp. Cosin's Library V. n. 5.

6. Phillipps, 11059. Sir Thomas Phillipps printed the Prologue from this MS. in one of his Catalogues, and M. Delisle has reprinted it in *Mélanges de Paléographie*, etc., p. 205.

Two other remarks may be made in this place. Firstly, the term "Theological," as applied to windows containing pictures of types and antitypes, is borrowed ultimately, I believe, from the works of MM. Cahier and Martin. I derive it directly from Mr Westlake's *History of Design in Painted Glass*. Secondly, the punctuation of the verses printed in the tract is that supplied by the manuscript; I do not wish any readers to hold me responsible for it. They must punctuate for themselves if they desire to get any sense out of the lines.

M. R. J.

THE TWELVE THEOLOGICAL WINDOWS
OF
CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

THE SOURCE OF THE VERSES.

The verses inscribed upon certain painted windows in Canterbury Cathedral have been printed more than once. First by W. Somner in his *Antiquities of Canterbury*, 1640: then by Battely in his edition of Somner in 1703: again in Winston's *Hints on Stained Glass*, from Somner's text: most recently in an admirable little book written by a lady (who remains anonymous), and issued with a preface by the present Dean of Canterbury in 1897 under the title of *Notes on the Painted Glass in Canterbury Cathedral*. I wish to do what I can to call attention to this work: it seems to me exactly what is wanted. I should very much like to see books on the same plan done for York and for others of our churches which possess considerable remains of ancient glass. That is by the way: I was about to say that the text of the verses in this book was taken from a seventeenth century transcript by Brian Twyne in MS. 256, at Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

So far as I can gather, none of the editors since Battely's time have consulted the oldest MS. authority available: and since the verses are particularly interesting, and the text as hitherto printed sometimes obscure, I have thought it well to consult the original document from which Somner took them. The Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral most generously lent me the MS.—for which I return them my

warmest thanks—and I am now to try and give my readers an accurate transcript of its contents.

It is a roll numbered C 246 in the Chapter archives. It is about 9½ inches wide and 8 feet 10 inches long, and consists of three skins now fastened together with pins (which seem to be quite a hundred years old). The writing is very large and clear, and belongs, I think, to the early part of the fourteenth century. Unless I am much mistaken, the hand might very well be the same as that of the great Inventory of Prior Henry of Eastry (Cotton MS. Galba, E. iv.). The titles, and some other parts of the text (but not the verses) are either rubricated, or underlined with red. This I shall express by the use of leaded and italic types. There is no general heading: the writing begins so near the top of the roll that it is quite possible that an original title has been cut off. Indeed, in the transcript referred to there is a title which I expect was originally inscribed at the top of our roll. It is: *Fenestrae in superiori parte ecclesiae Christi Cant. incipientes a parte septentrionali*. The largeness of the writing suggests to me the conjecture that the roll may have been hung up in the Church itself for the perusal of visitors, just as "tables" containing lists of relics, short histories of the foundation, and particulars about distinguished persons buried there, were hung up in various churches. A specimen of such a table, from Glastonbury Abbey, is, I believe, now at Naworth. These documents were generally written upon parchment and affixed to boards.

This roll was not the only form in which the verses were preserved. In the Catalogue of the Library made under Prior Henry of Eastry, printed in Edwards's *Memoirs of Libraries*, vol. i., we have (on p. 167) the entry

Versus pannorum pendencium in ecclesia Cantuariensi
Versus fenestrarum vitrearum ecclesie Christi Cantuar.

and again on p. 216

Versus fenestrarum vitrearum ecclesie Christi.

The verses evidently enjoyed some reputation in their native place: and this is the less surprising when we realize that

they formed in fact one of the most extensive and complete sets of types and antitypes which were to be found in any English church; and, further, that England was the country in which this special product of medievalism found its most copious expression in artistic monuments. It should also be remembered that the inscriptions on the windows themselves were (and are) exceedingly hard to read.

It has been a matter of some difficulty to decide exactly how the text of the roll ought to be printed. The scribe, though a good writer, was either a careless or a stupid man, and I may remark in passing that this fact tends to confirm my notion that he was the person who wrote Prior Henry of Eastry's inventory, for the catalogue of books which occurs in that teems with foolish mistakes. In copying out the verses on his roll this scribe of ours has done his best to impair its usefulness by misplacing considerable portions of his text. How this can have happened I am unable to see very clearly. It might be conjectured that his archetype consisted of a number of loose slips, or of another roll whose membranes had been fastened together in the wrong order; but in fact neither of these suppositions is confirmed by an examination of the character of the mistakes. The mistakes are there, in any case, and they attracted attention at an early date: a corrector in the fourteenth century has noted some of the most glaring, but I am inclined to suspect that some have eluded him. The misplacements which have been detected are as follows:

In the 3rd window are two small portions of the 6th.

In the 6th window is a large portion of the 8th.

In the 8th window is a large portion of the 9th.

The misplacements which I only suspect concern the 9th, 10th, and 12th windows, and shall not be described yet.

The text before us is also guilty of divers small corruptions which are noticed in footnotes; and I have no doubt that in some cases there are omissions of verses. I have decided that it is on the whole safer to print the text of the roll just as it stands, and to call attention to the detected errors where they occur, by means of brackets and notes. I have added

a survey in diagrammatic form of what I suppose each window to have contained. My text is not a line-for-line transcript, but I have indicated how much each line of the roll contains.

As to the date and style of the glass with which we are concerned, the reader should consult the *Notes* I have mentioned and also Mr Westlake's *History of Design in Painted Glass*. All that need be said here is that the glass is of about the middle of the thirteenth century.

THE SUBJECTS OF THE WINDOWS.

Speaking generally, these twelve windows form a well-defined series illustrating the Life of Christ, from the Annunciation to the Resurrection, with a series of types taken from the Old Testament and from other sources. This series bears all the marks of having been thought out at one time, very probably by one man. There is reason to suppose that it, or our record of it, is incomplete. The last window carries the story only so far as the Resurrection of Christ, and intercalates at that point a number of scenes from the Life of St Gregory, instead of giving us—what we have a right to expect—the appearances after the Resurrection, the Ascension, and perhaps the coming of the Holy Ghost and the Last Judgment. We cannot at present tell to what the incompleteness is due.

The series considered as a whole finds its counterpart in many well-known instances. Considered in detail, it differs importantly from any that is known to me. The salient point, to which I find no parallel elsewhere, is the full treatment accorded to the Parables of our Lord. Eight of these are illustrated as copiously as their character admits. There is only one among them which I find handled in the same fashion anywhere else. Here is a rather interesting phenomenon: it shall be examined somewhat more closely.

The parables illustrated in the Canterbury windows are those of (1) the Sower, (2) the Leaven, (3) the Net, (4)

the Tares, (5) the Lost Sheep, (6) the Unjust Debtor, (7) the Wedding Garment, (8) the Good Samaritan.

Among the many windows in foreign cathedrals which can be compared in date and character to those we are considering, I find that only three parables are illustrated with any frequency. My survey, I ought to say, includes Chartres, Bourges, Sens, Troyes, Auxerre, Le Mans, as well as a good many churches less rich in thirteenth century glass. I find among these, windows devoted to the Parables of the Good Samaritan, the Prodigal Son, and Dives and Lazarus. One church, that of Bourges, adds two to the list, the Rich Fool, and the Unjust Judge, but it stands alone, so far as I can discover. The first named is the only one that is accompanied with types. Good Samaritan windows are to be seen at Chartres, Bourges, Sens and perhaps elsewhere. The selection of illustrative types in all the examples that I am acquainted with, is very close to that of the Canterbury windows. In this case I have little doubt that the Canterbury designer incorporated an already made pattern into his series. For the other parables, I think he may himself be held responsible.

The subject of the illustration of the Parables in early art would be worth studying specially and separately. My present impression about the matter is that except in the Eastern Church and in such isolated examples as I have mentioned, medieval artists left this rich mine of material practically unworked. One or two subjects must be excepted: the story of Dives and Lazarus occurs frequently in Books of Hours as an illustration to the Office of the Dead. The Return of the Prodigal Son, the Shepherd bringing back the Lost Sheep, the finding of the Lost Piece of Silver, are employed as types in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* and the *Biblia Pauperum*. The Ten Virgins are frequently seen on the sculptured portals of the Continent (and at Wells) as pendants to the scene of the Last Judgment. The Good Shepherd—so conspicuous in the earliest Christian art—is an unfamiliar figure in the Middle Ages.

Not until the Renaissance was far advanced do we find painters drawing their themes from the Parables and pictures

of the Sower, the Prodigal Son, and the Good Samaritan ; and it seems that a large part of their attractiveness was due to their possibilities as *genre* subjects. For continuous illustration of single parables we have to turn to the works of the sixteenth century engravers.

I remarked in passing that the Eastern Church did not omit the parables from its cycle of sacred subjects: at the same time, it did not treat them from the external point of view. A reference to the manual for the use of painters will show that the meaning of the parable was the chief interest. This was illustrated almost to the exclusion of the story by which the meaning was conveyed. I cannot discern that Byzantine art had in this department any strong influence on the Western designers.

To write the history of the allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament and its application in art to the illustration of the New is not my task in the present tract. It is my function only to shape a stone which may take its place in that larger structure. I may not even spend time in tracing out the first appearance of the various types which come before us in the Canterbury windows. All that I propose to do in these pages is to point out certain recurrences of the same subjects in other similar cycles of pictures. Foremost among these is the great collection of types, made apparently late in the twelfth or early in the thirteenth century and called *Pictor in Carmine*. An edition of this text I have long planned; and I hope that it may appear at no distant date. All the copies of it which I have so far discovered are of English origin, and I am strongly inclined to believe that the compiler was an Englishman. It seems, indeed, as if at this particular period, the interest in illustrative types was specially active in English monastic circles. The extensive series of paintings which adorned the stalls at Peterborough, the paintings in the chapter-house of Worcester, and the twelve Canterbury windows, are works to which it would be difficult to find parallels in other countries. Each of them is a remarkable series of types and antitypes, and all were produced within a

hundred years. It will be worth while to mark the extent to which the Peterborough paintings, the Canterbury windows, and the *Pictor in Carmine* coincide.

We will take the Canterbury windows as our basis:

Window I.

In the first of these, the types of the Annunciation, Visitation, and Nativity are of the commonest kind and are found in all the series I have mentioned.

The *Angel and the Shepherds* has no proper type, but only the figures of two prophets, with inscribed scrolls. These same prophets and legends occur at Peterborough, but not in the *Pictor*, which takes no note of prophets and prophecies.

Window II.

In the second window, Balaam as a type of the Magi belongs to the common stock. Isaiah is at Peterborough and also at Canterbury. The Exodus is in *Pictor* and at Peterborough. Christ and the Gentiles in neither.

Joseph and his brethren	Pictor	Peterborough
The Queen of Sheba	Pictor	Peterborough
Lot	Pictor	Peterborough
The prophet of 1 K. xiii.	Pictor	Peterborough
Melchizedek	O	
Samuel	Pictor	Peterborough Worcester
David flees from Saul	Pictor	Peterborough
Elijah from Ahab	Pictor	Peterborough
Massacre of Benjamites	Pictor	
Massacre of Priests at Nob	Pictor	

Window III.

Moses and Jethro	Pictor	Peterborough
Daniel and Elders	Pictor	Peterborough
The Ark		Peterborough
The Red Sea		Peterborough
Eve tempted (thrice)	Pictor	Peterborough
David and Goliath	Pictor	Peterborough

Window IV.

Adam and Eve cover themselves	Pictor
Israel under the Law	O
The six ages of the world	Pictor

The six ages of man	Pictor
Peter and the Jews	Pictor
Paul and the Gentiles	Pictor
Esdras reads the Law	Pictor
Gregory ordains readers	Pictor (a bishop, not specified)
The Doctors of the Church	O
Moses receives the Law	Pictor
Paul baptizes	O
Naaman cleansed	(Naaman at Elisha's gate. Pictor)

Window V.

Angel binding devil	O
Drusiana's charity	O
Peter fishing, John reading	O
Jacob with Leah and Rachel	Pictor
The Gospel-mill	O
Peter and Paul	O
Jacob at the well	Pictor
Eliezer and Rebecca	Pictor

Window VI.

The only subject found in *Pictor* is the feeding of the five thousand: and there is but a partial resemblance in one of the types selected.

Window VII.

There is here again no coincidence in subject with *Pictor*, which omits the Transfiguration (!).

Window VIII.

None of the subjects are in *Pictor*.

Window IX.

Three subjects, but no types, coincide.

Window X.

The subjects are in *Pictor*, but not the types.

Window XI.

David carrying himself	Pictor
The Manna	Pictor
Laban washes the camels' feet	Pictor
Abraham washes the angels' feet	Pictor Peterborough
Joseph sold	Peterborough

Joab and Abner (Amasa)	Pictor	Peterborough
Job smitten	Pictor	Peterborough (Job and his friends)
Elisha mocked	Pictor	(type of the mocking). Peterborough

Window XII.

Isaac	Pictor	Peterborough
Widow of Zarephath	Pictor	Peterborough
Brazen serpent	Pictor	Peterborough
Red heifer	Pictor	Peterborough
Death of Abel	Pictor	Peterborough
Blood of the Passover	Pictor	Peterborough
Elisha and Shunammite	Pictor	Peterborough
Vision of Ezek. ix.	Pictor	(as type of Bearing of the Cross). Peterborough
Samson in Gaza	Pictor	
Jonah in the fish	Pictor	
David and bear	Pictor	Peterborough
Samson and lion	O	
Samson and gates	Pictor	Peterborough
Daniel and dragon	Pictor	
Jonah cast up	Pictor	Peterborough
David escapes	Pictor	Peterborough
Lion and cub	Pictor	
Joseph released ¹	Pictor	

It will be observed that in the windows which illustrate the early life of Christ and the Passion the coincidences between Canterbury, *Pictor in Carnine*, and the Peterborough paintings are very numerous, and that they include the obscurer and rarer types as well as the common ones. But in those which illustrate the Ministry and the Parables, the coincidences are practically negligible. In fact the Peterborough series, like the large majority of medieval monuments, passes straight from the Temptation to the Entry into Jerusalem, while the choice of subjects in *Pictor* seems curiously

¹ A good many of the subjects in Window XII are found in the central eastern window in Becket's crown, nearly the whole of which is old glass. The occurrence of the same subjects more than once in the same church is not by any means uncommon.

capricious and incomplete. As we have seen, the Transfiguration is omitted.

It is difficult to believe that the Peterborough series is altogether disconnected with that of Canterbury. Not only do the subjects agree to a large extent, but in twenty-one cases—all in the first three windows—the legends are the same. I have at present no copy of the legends of the latter part of the Peterborough series, but I should expect to find coincidences there as well. The Peterborough paintings were of the twelfth century; the Canterbury windows of the thirteenth. Had Benedict, monk of Christ Church and subsequently Abbot of Peterborough, any hand in communicating copies of the Peterborough legends to his old monastery? It seems not unlikely. I am confirmed in my belief in the connexion by the fact that in spite of the coincidences in subject between *Pictor* and the Canterbury series there is hardly any coincidence in the legends, and this though *Pictor* usually gives more verses than two for each subject. For the beginning and end of his series, then, we may allow the probability that the Canterbury designer derived help from Peterborough; but for the middle portion we cannot trace any source.

If we pursue the subject of Typology down to a later date, we find that the tendency to neglect the story of the Ministry in favour of the Infancy and the Passion is on the increase. In the *Biblia Pauperum* the only subjects between the Temptation and the Entry into Jerusalem are the Transfiguration, and the Raising of Lazarus, and Mary Magdalene washing Christ's feet. In the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* we have only the last-named subject.

In so late a series as the windows of King's College Chapel the Raising of Lazarus is the one subject. The Return of the Prodigal occurs as a type, as also in the *Speculum*.

We have not, as yet, I think, sufficient material before us to pronounce very definitely and dogmatically upon the matter: but at present I hold that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a special interest in the collection of types for artistic

purposes was a feature of English art in particular, and that the most extensive works in this kind were to be seen in English churches. On the Continent we find such works chiefly confined to smaller areas. Single windows—not a whole series of windows—altar-pieces, such as the retable of Kloster-Neuburg: here and there, as at Laon, a single portal. It was the commonest practice to take an episode of Old Testament history and illustrate that, leaving the connexion between it and the New Testament to be expounded *viva voce*. Such continuous Bible histories are to be seen at Venice, Auxerre, Chartres, Toledo, Rouen, Lyons, Bourges, Orvieto, Pisa, Assisi, in mosaic, sculpture, glass, or fresco, while the collection of types and antitypes on a large scale appears in the thirteenth century in *books* such as the famous *Bible figurée*, of one copy of which portions are to be seen at Paris, London, and Oxford¹. The *Speculum* and the *Biblia Pauperum* are compilations of the fourteenth century. These are hasty generalizations, but, as I believe, not incorrect ones.

In short, I have searched for evidence of the existence on the Continent in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of collections of types and antitypes comparable to those of Peterborough, Canterbury, and the *Pictor in Carmine*, and have not found them. For the present, then, I am constrained to say that I regard them as specially characteristic of England.

My last task is to furnish elucidations of those subjects in the Canterbury windows which are likely to be obscure at first sight to the reader. I will put them in the form of notes.

Window IV. 4. *The six ages of the world.* These are represented in this picture by figures of Adam, Noah, Abraham, David, Jechonias, Christ.

Window V. *An angel binds a devil.* I take this to be a representation of Raphael binding Asmodeus in the uttermost parts of Egypt. (*Tobit viii. 3.*)

Drusiana feeds the poor. Drusiana was a lady of Ephesus converted by John the Evangelist, and subsequently raised by him from the dead. Her story is told in full in the Leucian *Acts of John*.

¹ On this the article by M. Delisle in *Hist. Littéraire*, vol. xxxii, should be consulted.

Peter fishing, John reading. Peter and John are here taken—like Martha and Mary, Leah and Rachel—as types of the active and the contemplative life.

A mill and oven; the Apostles making bread. This subject is comparable with one that appears in later art, of Christ in a wine-press, and the Apostles distributing the wine that flows thence to the world. In later art the picture of the mill is applied specially to the Eucharist. It occurs for instance in a window at Berne, where the Apostles are making Hosts out of the flour. Here at Canterbury, as we see from the inscription, the upper and lower millstones represent the two Testaments and the bread is simply the word of Christ.

Window VI. *The rich of the world.* In the picture, part of which still exists, names are given to the two figures of rich men, namely, Julianus and Mauricius. I have not yet been able to ascertain who are meant.

Window VIII. 15. *Quidam sequuntur regem, quidam fugiunt.* It is not easy to see from the inscription whether the king meant here is the king in the Parable, or whether some subject unconnected with the Parable is intended. If the latter is the case, the particular subject is still obscure.

Window X. 3. Constantine afflicted with leprosy had been recommended to take a bath of children's blood. Silvester dissuaded him from the commission of this cruelty.

6. Theophilus had sold his soul to the devil. The most famous of all the miracles attributed to the Virgin was her recovery of the bond from the devil, and consequent deliverance of Theophilus, who died penitent within a few days.

The three dead persons raised in this window typify three degrees of sin. Jairus' daughter dead in the house, is the evil thought. The widow's son, outside the city gate, is the evil act. Lazarus, already in the tomb, is the confirmed habit of sin. The two verses which set this forth are very commonly found scribbled on fly-leaves in medieval manuscripts.

Window XI. David bearing himself in his hands. This curious type is founded ultimately on the LXX. version of the title of Ps. xxxiv., where the words, translated in the A. V. by "changed his behaviour," are rendered *παρεφέρετο ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ*. Thus the Latin translates "ferebatur in manibus suis," and Augustine (commenting on the Psalm in question), perhaps for the first time applies this to the illustration of the Last Supper, where Christ carried Himself in His own hands. A medieval critic annotating the *Pictor in Carmine* understands it of David dancing before the Ark, suggesting that he may have stood on his head on that occasion, and so practically have borne himself in his hands.

(P)rima fenestra.

Moyses cum rubo. In medio angelus cum maria¹. |

Rubus non consumitur
tua nec comburitur
in carne uirginitas. |

Gedeon cum uellere et conca.

Vellus celesti rore maduit.
dum puelle | uenter intumuit.

Misericordia et ueritas. In medio maria et elizabet. |

Plaude puer puero uirgo uetula quia uero |
Obuiat hic pietas. ueteri dat lex noua metas. *Justicia et pax. |*
Applaudit regi preuisor gratia legi. |
Oscula iusticie dat pax cognata marie².

Nabugodonosor et lapis cum statua. Puer in presepio.

Vt regi uisus lapis est de monte recisus. |

*In medio maria. Sic grauis absque uiro uirgo parit ordine
miro³. |*

Moyses cum uirga. In medio angelus et pastores. |

Vt contra morem dedit arida uirgula florem. |
Sic uirgo puerum uerso parit ordine rerum⁴.

Dauid. Gaudebunt campi et omnia que in eis sunt.

Abacuc. Operuit celos gloria eius, etc. |

(F)enestra secunda.

In medio tres reges equitantes.

Balaam. Orietur | stella ex Jacob · et exurget homo de israel.

Ysaias et ierusalem. Ambulabunt | gentes in lumine tuo, etc.

In medio herodes et magi.

Christus et gentes. | Qui sequuntur me non ambulant in tenebris |

Stella magos duxit et eos ab herode reduxit. |

Sic sathanam gentes fugiunt te Christe sequentes⁵. |

Pharao et moyses cum populo exiens ab egypto. |

Exit ab erumpna populus ducente columpna. |

Stella magos duxit · lux Christus utrisque reluxit⁶.

¹ This line is wholly in red.

² These four verses occurred on the painted stall-backs at Peterborough. They are recorded in MS. Arundel 30 at the College of Arms. Instead of *preuisor* in the 3rd line this MS. reads rightly *precursor*.

³ Also occurred at Peterborough.

⁴ Also occurred at Peterborough: for *dedit arida uirgula* the Arundel MS. has *dat amigdalus arida*.

⁵ Also at Peterborough. The variants are *magis luxit*, and *At Sathanam*.

⁶ Also at Peterborough.

*In medio maria cum | puer. Magi et pastores. Joseph et fratres sui
cum egyptiis. |*

Ad te longinquis ioseph trahis atque propinquos.

Sic deus in eunis iudeos gentibus uiuis¹.

Rex solomon et regina saba. |

Hijis donat donis regina domum salomonis. |

Sic reges domino dant munera tres tria trino¹.

Admoniti sunt magi | ne herodem adheant (sic). propheta et rex.

Jeroboam immolans. |

Vt uia² mutetur redeundo propheta monetur |

Sic tres egerunt qui Christo dona tulerunt¹.

Subuersio sodome et loth fugiens. |

Vt loth saluetur ne respiciat prohibetur. |

Sic uitant reuehi per herodis regna sabei¹.

Oblatio pueri in templo et | symeon.

Melchisedech offerens panem et uinum pro abraham. |

Sacrum quod cernis sacris fuit umbra modernis. |

Vmbra fugit, quare, quia Christus sistitur are¹.

Oblatio samuelis. |

Natura geminum triplex oblato trinum |

Significat dominum samuel puer amphora uinum^{1 3}.

Fuga domini in egip|tum.

Fuga dauid . et docch. |

Hunc saul infestat saul herodis typus exstat. |

Iste typus Christi eius fuga consonat isti¹.

Helyas. Jezabel et Ahab. |

Vt trucis insidias jezabel declinat helyas. |

Sic deus herodem terrore remotus eodem².

Occisio innocentium.

Occisio | sacerdotum domini sub saule |

Non occidit dauid pro quo saul hos iugulauit |

Sic non est eesus cum eesis transfuga ihesus¹.

Occisio tribus beniamini in gabaon. |

Eece rachel nati fratrū gladiis iugulati |

Hijis sunt signati pueri sub herode necati¹. |

(F)enestra tercia.

Ihesus sedet in medio doctorum.

Moyses et Jetro cum populo. |

¹ Also at Peterborough.

² uita corr. to uia.

³ At Peterborough the lines were transposed.

Sic moyses audit jetro uir sanctus obaudit |
Gentiles¹ uerbis humiles sunt forma superbis².

Daniel in medio seniorum. |

Mirantur pueri seniores uoce doceri. |
Sic responsa dei sensum <que> stupent pharisei³.

Baptizatur dominus.

Noe in archa. |

Fluxu cuncta nago submergens prima uorago. |
Omnia purgauit. baptisma⁴ significauit⁵

Submersio pharaonis et transitus populi. |

Vnda maris rubri spacio diuissa salubri. |
Que mentem mundam facit a uitio notat undam⁶.

Temptatio gule | et uane glorie.

Eua capiens fructum. |

Qui temptat ihesum monet⁷ euam mortis ad esum. |
Eua gule cedit sed non ita ihesus obedit⁸.

Eua comedit. |

Victor es hic sathanha mouet euam gloria uana. |
Sed quo uicisti⁹ te uicit gratia christi. |
Vt goliam dauid sathanam christus superauit¹⁰.

[*De . v . panibus et . ij . piscibus | saciauit multa milia hominum.*
Dominus sacerdos et Rex. |

Hii panes legem pisces dantem sacra regem. |
Signant quassatos a plebe nec adnichilatos¹¹.]

Temptatio cupiditatis.

Adam et eua comedunt. |

Quo sathan hos subicit sathanam sapiencia vicit. |
[*Synagoga cum moyse et libris.*

¹ I. Gentilis.

² Also at Peterborough. The first line ran thus:

Hinc homines audit deus . hinc uir sanctus obaudit

In the 2nd line *sint* was read for *sunt*. In the glass itself at Canterbury we find curiously enough the Peterborough reading of l. 1. The names of Moses and Jethro have crept in wrongly, they are inscribed over the heads of the personages.

³ Also at Peterborough, where *sensumque* was the reading: as it also is in the glass at Canterbury.

⁴ Add *que*, as at Peterborough, where the heading was *Mundum purgauit baptisma que sanctificauit (!):* and as the glass at Canterbury.

⁵ Also at Peterborough.

⁶ I. mouet.

⁷ Obscurely written: a later hand adds *vicisti* at end of line.

⁸ This line is underlined in red, and a slightly later note is attached: *quere in vjta fenestra.*

⁹ See Window VI.

Ecclesia cum Johanne.

Non¹ populos saturant panes piscesque figurant. |
Quod testamenta duo nobis dant² alimenta.]

(F)enestra iiiij^a.

Vocatio natanael iacentis sub ficu.

Adam et eua cum folijs. |

Populus sub lege.

Vidit in hijs christus sub ficu natanaelem. |

Lex tegit hanc plebem quasi ficus natanaelem.

Christus mutauit aquam in | uinum. et sex ydrie.

Sex etates mundi.

Ydria metretas capiens est quelibet etas.

Primum signorum deus hic prodendo suorum. *Sex etates hominis. |*

Limpha dat hystoriam uinum notat allegoriam. |

In uinum morum conuertit aquam uitiorum.

Piscatores apostolorum³.

Sanctus petrus cum ecclesia | de iudeis.

Verbum rete ratis petri domus hec pietatis. |

Pisces iudei qui rete ferant pharisei. |

Paulus cum ecclesia de gentibus.

Illa secunda ratis domus hec est plena beatis. |

Recia scismaticus et quiuis scindit iniquus⁴. |

In medio ihesus legit in synagoga.

Esdras legit legem populo. |

Quid promulgavit moyses legem reparauit. |

∴ Esdras amissam christus renouauit omissam.

Sanctus gregorius ordinans lectores. |

Quod christus legit quasi pro lectoribus egit. |

Exemplo cuius sacer est gradus ordinis huius.

Sermo domini in monte.

¹ ? L. qui.

² Corrected from *dantur*.

³ On the glass itself the title is: *Piscatio Apostolorum. Rete rumpitur.*

⁴ The lines read best in this order:

Verbum rete etc.

Illa secunda etc.

Pisces iudei etc.

Recia etc.

But the error, if error it be, is perpetuated in the glass itself, where the first two lines exist.

Doctores ecclesie. |

Moyses suscepit legem¹. |

Hij montem scandunt scripture dum sacra pandunt. |

Christus sublimis docet hos sed vulgus in ymis. |

Ex (l. lex) hinc inde datur in monte quod inde notatur. |

Christum nouisse debemus utramque dedisse. |

Christus descendens de monte mundat leprosum.

Paulus baptizat populum. |

Carne deus tectus quasi uallis ad ima pronectus. |

.. Mundat leprosum genus humanum uiciosum.

Helyseus Naaman et Iordanis. |

Quem lauat ecce deus quem mundat et hic helyseus: |

Est genus humanum Christi baptismate sanum. |

(F)enestra v^a.

Ihesus eicit demonium.

Angelus ligauit demonium. |

Imperat inmundis deus hic <ut> equis furibundis. |

Hij s uirtus Christi dominatur ut angelus isti.

Maria unxit pedes Christi.

Drusiana | uestit et pascit egenos. |

Curam languenti uictum qui prebet egenti. |

Seque reum plangit Christi uestigia tangit. |

Illa quod unguendo facit hec sua distribuendo. |

Dum quod de pleno superest largitur egeno. |

Martha et maria cum ihesu.

Petrus in nauis.

Iohannes legit. |

Equoris unda ferit hunc. ille silencia querit. |

Sic requies orat dum mundi cura laborat.

Lya et Rachel cum iacob. |

Lya gerit curam carnis Rachelque figuram. |

Mentis cura grauis est hec est altera suauis. |

Ihesus et apostoli colligunt spicas.

Mola . fumus². et apostoli facientes panes. |

Quod terit alterna mola lex uetus atque moderna |

.. Passio crux Christe tua sermo tuus cibus iste.

Petrus et paulus cum populis. |

Arguit iste reos humiles alit hic phariseos. |

Sic apice trite panis sunt nerbaque uite.

Ihesus cum Samaritana.

Sy|nagogae et Moyses cum .v. libris. |

¹ The rubric applies to the line beginning: *Ex (lex) hinc.*

² *l. furnus.*

Potum quesisti fidei cum christe sitisti |
 Equa uiri cui sex synagoga librique sui sex.
Ecclesia¹ de gentibus ad ihesum. |
 .:. Delitta² (sic) delicta notat ydria fonte relictia. |
 Ad te de gente deus ecclesia ueniente.
Samaritana adduxit populum ad ihesum.
Rebecca duxit potum iacob. |
 Fons seruus minans pecus ydria uirgo propinans. |
 Lex Christo gentes mulierque fide redolentes.
Jacob obuiat Racheli cum grege.
 Jacob lassatus Rachel obuia grex adaquatus. |
 Sunt deus et turbe mulier quas duxit ab urbe. |

(F)enestra vjta.

Ihesus loquens cum apostolis.
Gentes audiunt.
pharisei contempnunt³ |
 Sollicite gentes stant uerba dei scientes. |
 Hij sunt uerba dei . que contempnunt pharisei. |
Seminator et volucres
pharisei recedentes a ihesu.
 Semen rore carent expers rationis et arens. |
 Hij sunt qui credunt temptantos⁴ sieque recedunt.
Pharisei temptantes ihesum. |
 Semen sermo dei uia lex secus hanc pharisei |
 Et tu Christe sator uerbrum (sic) patris insidiator⁵.
Semen cecidit inter spinas.
Divites huius mundi cum pecunia.
Semen cecidit in terram bonam.
 Isti spinosi locupletes deliciosi. |
 Nil fructus referunt quoniam terrestria querunt.
Ioh. Daniel. Noe. ce. in ter. bo.⁶ |
 Verba patris seuit deus hijs fructus sibi creuit. |
 In tellure bona triplex sua quinque corona.
Ihesus et mulier commiscens | *sata tria.*
tres filii noe cum ecclesia.
Virgines . continentes . coniugati . |

¹ Ecce.

² i. Deleta, in spite of the false quantity involved.

³ contempnunt added by a later hand.

⁴ i. temptantur.

⁵ ? uerbi patris insinuator.

⁶ i.e. eccliderunt (or cemen for semen) in terram bonam.

Parte noe nati michi quisque sua dominati. |
 Vna fides natis ex hiis tribus est deitatis. |
 Persone trine tria sunt sata muta¹ farine. |
 Fermentata sata tria tres fructus operata. |

Piscatores. hinc pisces boni inde mali. |
Hij qui iactantur in leuam qui reprobantur. |
Pars est a domino maledicta cremanda camino.

Isti in uitam eternam. |

Vase reseruantur pisces quibus assimulantur. |
Hij quos addixit uite deus et benedixit.

Messores . seges . Reponitur | in horreum . Zizania in ignem.

justi in uitam eternam.

Reprobi in ignem eternum. |

Cum sudore sata messoris in horrea lata. |
Sunt hic uexati sed Christo glorificati. |
Hic cremat ex messe quod inutile iudicat esse. |
Sic pranos digne punit iudex deus igne.

Rex fecit nupcias filio et misit seruos². |

Rex pater ad natum regem sponge sociatum. |
Precipit asciri populos renuuntque uenire. |

Excusant se quidam per villam.

Quos uexat cura caro · quinque boum iuga rura. |
Nuncius excusans . hic ortans ille recusans. |

Petrus docens sed sequuntur moysen et synagogam.

Sunt ascire uolens deus hunc hic credere nolens. |
Petrus³ docens isti⁴ que studens iudea fuisti⁵. |

Johannes preiudicat⁶ intente audientibus.

Vox inuitantis cause tres dissimilantis. |
Sponsam sponsus amat : uox horam preuia clamat. |

Isaias predicit audientibus turbis.

Ecclesiam Christe iunctam tibi predicit iste. |

Hiis imitata gens est ad edenda parata. |

Quidam sequuntur regem quidam fugiunt.

Hic . Regis⁷ . factum confirmat apostolus actum. |

Credit et accedit cito gens iudea recedit.

Contemplatur rex comedentes.

¹ I. mista, as edd.

² Above this, in a slightly later hand, is the note: *non hic sed in octaua fenestra.*

³ I. Petre.

⁴ isti corr. from istis.

⁵ fuisti from fuistis.

⁶ sc. *predicat*.

⁷ Regis added over erasure by a hand of cent. xv early (?).

Resurgunt mortui. |

Ad mensam tandem cito plebs sedet omnis eandem |
Sic omnes eadem uox hora cogit eadem.

Dominus dicit electis. · *Venite benedicti.* |

Rex plebem panit spretis quos ante vocauit. |
Christus se dignos reficit · reicitque malignos.

Inuenitur et eicitur non vestitus ueste nupciali. |

Diues et extrusus seruus tenebrisque reclusus. |
Quem condemnauit rex eiecit crucianuit.

Ananias et saphira moriuntur a petro.

└ *Dominus eiecit uendentes a templo.* |

(F)enestra vija.

Curauit ihesu filiam uidue.

Ecclesia de gentibus cum ihesu. |

Natam cum curat matris prece matre figurat |

Christo credentes primos · nataque sequentes.

Petrus orat et animalia dimittuntur in linthea¹. |

Fide uiuentes signant animalia gentes. |

Quos mundat sacri submersio trina lauaci.

Curauit ihesu hominem ad piscinam.

moyses cum quinque libris. |

Lex tibi piscina concordat² quia quina |

Hostia piscine seu partes lex tibi quine.

Baptizat dominus. |

Sanat ut egrotum piscine motio lotum.

Sic cruce signatos mundat baptismus renatos. |

Transfiguratio domini

angeli uestiunt mortuos resurgentibus. |

Spes transformati capit is spes uiuificati. |

Claret in indutis membris a morte solutis.

Adducunt angeli iustos ad deum. |

Cum transformares te Christe quid insinuares |

Veste decorati declarant clarificati.

Petrus piscatur et inuenit staterem |

Dominus ascendit in ierusalem.

Hunc ascendente mox mortis adesse uidentem. |

Tempora te Christe piscis prenunciat iste.

¹ a erased.

² Insert cur? and read:

Lex tibi piscina concordat. Cur? quia quina

Ostia etc.

*Dominus crucifigitur in cruce factus. |
 Ludibrium turbe deus est electus ab urbe¹.
 Statui ihesus parvulum in | medio discipulorum.
 Monachi lauant pedes pauperum. |
 Hoc informantur exemplo qui monachantur. |
 Ne dedignentur peregrinis si famulentur.
 Reges inclinantur doctrine Petri et Pauli. |
 Sic incurvati puero sunt assimulati. |
 Reges cum gente . paulo petroque docente.
Pastor sine iuersu reporat ouem.
Christus pendet in cruce.
*Christus spoliat infernum. |**

(F)enestra viij^a.

*Dominus remittit debita seruo poscenti. |
 Vt prece submissa sunt hinc² commissa remissa. |
 Parcat poscenti seu parcit deus egenti.
 Petrus et paulus absoluunt | penitentem et dominus sibi credentes.
Seruus percutit conseruum.
Paulus lapidatur. |
 Cui plus ignoscit dominus minus ille poposcit. |
Conseruus³ seruus populus te paule proteruus.
Stephanus lapidatur. |
 Regi conseruo repetenti debita seruo. |
 Assimulare deus martyr nequam phariseus.
Tradidit eum tortoribus. |
 Ceditur affligens captinatur crucifigens. |
 Hunc punit dominus flagris hos igne caminus. |
Mittuntur impii in ignem.
Judei perimuntur.
 Mittit dominus duos discipulos propter asinam et pullum⁴. |
 Imperat adduci pullum cum matre magister. |
 Paruit hunc⁵ opera succinetus uterque minister. |
Spiritus sanctus in specie columbe inter deum et hominem. |
 Signacius⁶ simplex quod sit dilectio duplex. |
 Ala deum dextra fratrem docet ala sinistra.
Ihesus stans inter Petrum et paulum. |
 Genti que seruit petris petrum petra mittit |
 Escas diuinias iudeis paule propinas.*

¹ Rubric and legend both seem defective.² I. huic.³ I. conseruum.⁴ Note above this in slightly later hand: *non hic sed in nona fenestra.*⁵ I. huic.⁶ I. Signat aus.

Adducunt discipuli asinam et pullum. |
 Que duo soluantur duo sunt animalia bruta. |
 Dicitur ad christum pullus materque soluta.
Petrus adducit ecclesiam de gentibus. |
 De populo fusco petri sermone coruso |
 Extrahit ecclesiam neram reserando sophiam. |
Paulus ducit ecclesiam de gentibus¹.
 Sic radio fidei ceci radiantur hebrei. |
 Per pauli umerba fructum sterilis dedit herba. |
 Dum plebs gentilis per eum fit mente fidelis. |
 Gentilis populus uenit ad Christum quasi pullus.
Occursum pueri domino sedenti super asinam. |
 Vestibus ornari patitur salvator asellam. |
 Qui super astra sedet. nec habet frenum neque sellam. |
Ieaias dicit. Ecce rex tuus sedens super asinam. |
 Qui sedet in celo ferri dignatur asello.
Dauid. Ex ore infantium etc. |
 Sancti sanctorum laus ore sonat puerorum. |

(F)enestra ix^a.

Homo quidam descendebat de ierusalem in Jerico et incidit in latrones. |
 Perforat hasta latus occidit ad mala natus.
Creatur adam.
formatur eva
comedunt fructum
eiiciuntur de paradiſo. |
 Ex ade costa prodijt formata uirago. |
 Ex Christi latere processit sancta propago. |
 Fructum deserbens² mulier suadens mala serpens. |
 Inmemor auctoris uir perdunt culmen honoris. |
 Virgultum . fructus . mulier . vir . vipera . luctus . |
 Plantatur . rapitur . dat . gustat . fallit . initur . |
 Pena reos tangit uir sudat femina plangit. |
 Pectore portatur serpens tellure cibatur.
Sacerdos et leuita uident vulneratum et pertranseunt. |
 Vulneribus plenum neuter miseratus³ egenum. |
 Cui color est rubeus si⁴ cum mare transit hebreus |
 Angelico ductu patet in medio uia fluctu. |
 In ligno serpens positum notat in cruce Christum. |
 Qui uidet hunc uiuit . uiuet qui credit in istum. |

¹ sic: *L. iudeis.*² corr. later to decepens. *c* written above *s.*³ *L. miseratur.*⁴ *L. sic.*

Cernens quod speciem deitatis dum teret aurum
 Frangit scripta tenens moyses in puluere taurum.
Moyses et aaron | cum pharaone.
scribitur tau.
educitur populus.
adorat uitulum. |
datur lex.
elevatur serpens. |
 Pro populo moyses coram pharaone laborat. |
 Exaugeatque preces signorum luce coronat.
Samaritanus dicit | vulneratum in stabulum cum jumento.
prohicio¹ ihesu.
ancilla accusat petrum.
dominus crucifigitur.
sepelitur.
resurgit.
loquitur angelus ad marias. |

Qui caput est nostrum capitur qui regibus ostrum |
 Predet² nudatur qui soluit uincia ligatur. |
 In ligno pendens . in ligno brachia tendens. |
 In ligno lignum superasti Christe malignum. |
 Christum lege rei liuor condempnat hebrei. |
 Carne flagellatum rapit attrahit ante pilatum. |
 Solem iusticie tres orto sole marie |
 Querunt lugentes ex eius morte trementes. |

(F)enestra x^a.

Suscitat ihesus puellam in domo. |
 Que iacet in cella surgens de morte puella. |
 Signat peccatum meditantis corde creatum.
Abigail occurrit dauid et mutat eius propositum. |
 Rex dauid arma gerit dum nabal perdere querit. |
 Obuiat abigail mulcet danid arma refrenat. |
 Et nebula vultus hilari sermone serenat. |
Constantinus invens et matres cum pueris. |
 Rex soboles helene . Romane rector habene.
 Vult mundare cutem querendo cruce³ salutem. |
 Nec scelus exercet . flet . humet⁴ dictata cohercit.
Dominus suscitat puerum extra portam. |
 Qui iacet in morte puer extra limina porte. |
 Deforis abstractum peccati denotat actum.

¹ sc. proditio.² l. cruore.³ l. Prebet.⁴ l. fletum et.

Rex salomon adorat ydola et deflet peccatum.
Errat femineo salomon deceptus amore. |
Errorem redimit mens sancto tacta dolore.
Penitencia theophili. |
Dum lacrimando genit theophilus acta redemit. |
Iuuenies¹ ueniam dulcem rogando² mariam.
Dominus suscitat Lazarum. |
Mens mala mors intus malus actus : mors foris : vsus. |
Tumba puer puer lazarus ista notauit.
Angelus alloquitur ionam sub edera ante niniuem. |
Pingitur hic niniue iam pene peracta³ perire. |
Penitentia marie egipciace |
Veste fide zozimas nudam tegit⁴ mariam. |

(F)enestra xj.

In medio cena domini.
Dauid gestans se in manibus suis. |
Quid manibus dauid se gestans significauit. |
Te manibus gestans das Christe tuis manifestans.
Manna fluit populo de celo. |
Manna fluit saturans populum de plebe figurans |
De mensa ihesum dare se cenantibus esum.
Lauat ihesu pedes apostolorum.
Laban lauat pedes camelorum.
Cum laban hos curat typice te Christe figurat |
Cura camelorum mandatum discipulorum.
Abraham lauat pedes angelorum. |
Obsequio lauacri notat hospes in hospite sacri. |
Quos mundas sacro mundasti Christe lauacro.
Proditio ihesu.
Vendicio joseph. |
Fraus Jude Christum fraus fratrui uendidit istum. |
Hij iude Christi Joseph tu forma fuisti.
Joab osculatur Abner et occidit. |
Federa dum fugit ioab in funera stringit. |
Ferrum iudaicum presignans fedus iniquum.
Vapulatio ihesu.
Job percussus ulcere. |
Christi testatur plagas Job dum cruciatur. |
Vt sum⁵ iudee iocus⁶ pueris helisee. |

¹ Inueniens.² rogitando.³ parata.⁴ add ecce.⁵ ? tu.⁶ add es.

(F)enestra xij^a.

Christus portat crucem.
Ysaac ligna.
mulier colligit duo ligna
Christus suspenditur. |
 Ligna puer gestat crucis¹ typum manifestat. |
 Fert crucis in signum duplex muliercula lignum.
Serpens eneus eleuator in columpna. |
 Mors est exanguis dum cernitur eneus anguis. |
 Sic deus in ligno nos saluat ab hoste maligno.
Vacca rufa comburitur. |
 Vt moyses iussit uitulam rufam rogor ussit. |
 Sic tua Christe caro crucis igne crematur amaro.
Dominus depositur de ligno. |
Abel occiditur.
Heliseus expandit se super puerum.
 Nos a morte deus retocauit et hunc heliseus. |
 Signat abel christi pia funera funere tristi.
Moyses scribit tau . in frontibus in porta de sanguine agni.
 Rex moritur magnus forma cuius extitit agnus. |
²Frontibus infixum thau . precinuit crucifixum.
Dominus in sepulcro.
Samson dormit cum amica sua. |
 Vt sampson typice causa dorminit amice. |
 Ecclesie causa Christi caro marmore clausa.
Jonas in uentre ceti. |
 Dum iacet absoritus jonas sol triplicat ortus. |
 Sic deus artatur tumulo triduoque moratur.
Dominus ligans diabolum spoliavit infernum.
Dauid eripuit oves.
et Sampson³ tulit portas. |
 Saluat onem daniel sic Christum significauit. |
 Est sampson fortis qui rupit vincula mortis.
Sampson frangit ora leonis
et daniel draconis.
 Instar sampsonis frangit deus ora leonis. |
 Dum sathanam stravit Christus regulum iugulauit.

¹ add unde. The line, thus emended, occurred in the Chapter-house at Worcester.

² This verse occurred in the Chapter-house at Worcester.

³ sic.

*Surgit dominus de sepulcro. |
 Jonas eicitur de pisce¹. |
²Redditur ut saluus quem ceti clauerat aliuus. |
 Sic redit illesus a mortis carcere³ ihesus.
 David emisus per fenestram. |
 Hinc abit illesus dauid sie inuida⁴ ihesus |
 Agmina conturbat vt nieta morte resurgat.
 Angelus alloquitur mariam | ad sepulcrum.
 leo suscitat filium
 et Joseph extrahitur⁵ de carcere. |
 Ad uitam Christum deus ut leo suscitat istum.
 Te signat Christe ioseph . te mors . locus iste. |
 (S)anctus Gregorius dat aquam manibus pauperum et apparuit ei
 dominus. |
 Hospes abest vbi sit stupet hic cur quoque resistit. |
 Membra prius quasi me suscepistis sed heri me. |
 Gregorius dictat . Petrus scribit.
 Solitarius cum cato. |
 Pluris habes catum quam presul pontificatum. |
 Que liber ineludit signata columba recludit. |
 Hostia mutatur in formam digitii. |
 Id panis velat digitii quod forma reuelat. |
 Velans forma redit cum plebs abscondita credit. |
 Gregorius trahitur et papa⁶ efficitur. |
 Quem nomen . vultus . lux . vita . scienzia . cultus. |
 Approbat extractus latebris fit papa⁶ coactus. |
Explicit. |*

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE WINDOWS.

We will now set forth in tabular form the contents of each of these twelve windows, taking into account the corrections in the roll, and also the extant remains of the glass in so far as these last enable us by their form to shew the arrangement of the subjects.

¹ These two lines were probably meant to be transposed.

² This line occurred in the Chapter-house at Worcester.

³ Corr. from dauid sie inuida.

⁴ Corr. from iuda.

⁵ I. extrahitur.

⁶ papa is blotted out.

Window I.

- | | | |
|--|---------------------------------|--|
| 1 Moses and the Burning Bush. | 2 The Annunciation. | 3 Gideon and the Fleece. |
| 4 Mercy and Truth meet (Ps. lxxxv. 10). | 5 The Visitation. | 6 Righteousness and Peace kiss each other. |
| 7 The Stone cut out without hands (Dan. ii. 34). | 8 The Nativity. | 9 Aaron's rod, held by Moses. |
| 10 David with scroll (Ps. xciv. (xvi.) 12). | 11 The angel and the shepherds. | 12 Habakkuk with scroll (Hab. iii. 3). |

Window II¹.

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| 1 *Balaam. | 2 *The Three Kings on their way to Judaea. | 3 *Isaiah and Jerusalem (Is. lx.). |
| 4 *The Exodus: the Pillar of Fire. | 5 *Herod and the Three Kings. | 6 *Christ leading the Gentiles. |
| 7 *The Queen of Sheba visits Solomon. | 8 *The Three Kings adore Christ. | 9 *Joseph reverenced by his brethren and by the Egyptians. |
| 10 *Sodom overthrown: Lot warned not to look back. | 11 *The Three Kings warned to go back another way. | 12 *The Prophet of K. xiii., and Jeroboam sacrificing. "Nor turn again by the same way that thou camest." |
| 13 *Samuel presented at Shiloh. | 14 *The Presentation of Christ in the Temple. | 15 Melchizedek and Abraham. |
| 16 David flees from Saul: Doeg sees him. | 17 The Flight into Egypt. | 18 Elijah flees from Jezebel and Ahab. |
| 19 Saul kills the priests at Nob. | 20 Massacre of the Innocents. | 21 The Benjamites slain (Judg. xx.). |

¹ The subjects marked with an asterisk still exist.

Window III¹.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|--|
| 1 *Moses hearkens to Jethro's advice. | 2 *Jesus and the Doctors. | 3 *Daniel as a youth judges the elders (Hist. Susan.). |
| 4 *Noah in the Ark. | 5 Baptism of Christ. | 6 ² The crossing of the Red Sea. |
| 7 Eve plucks the forbidden fruit. | 8 The first and second Temptation of Christ (stone, and Temple). | 9 Eve eats the fruit. |
| 10 Adam and Eve eat the fruit. | 11 The third Temptation (the High Mountain). | 12 David conquers Goliath. |

Window IV¹.

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1 Adam and Eve with fig-leaves. | 2 *Nathanael called from under the fig tree. | 3 Israel overshadowed by the Law. |
| 4 *The six ages of the world. | 5 *The feast of Cana: the six water-pots. | 6 *The six ages of man. |
| 7 Paul and the Gentile Church. | 8 *The Apostles fishing. | 9 *Peter and the Jewish Church. |
| 10 Ezra reads the Law to the people. | 11 Jesus reads in the Synagogue at Capernaum. | 12 St Gregory ordains readers. |
| 13 Moses receives the Law. | 14 The Sermon on the Mount. | 15 The Doctors of the Church. |
| 16 Naaman cleansed in Jordan. | 17 Jesus, coming down from the Mount, heals a leper. | 18 Paul baptizes converts. |

The six ages of man are Infancia, Pueritia, Adolescentia, Juventus, Virilitas, Senectus.

The six ages of the world are represented by figures of Adam, Noe, Abrah(am), David, Jechonias, (Jesus).

¹ The subjects marked with an asterisk still exist.

² The inscription remains, but not the picture.

Window V.

- | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| 1 An Angel (? Raphael) binds a devil. | 2a Jesus casts out a devil (? out of Mary Magdalene). | 2b Mary anoints Jesus' feet. | 3 Drusiana (convert of St John) clothes and feeds the poor. |
| 4 Peter fishing, John reading. | 5 Jesus at Bethany, with Mary and Martha. | 6 Jacob with Leah and Rachel. | |
| 7 A mill and an oven: the apostles make bread. | 8 Jesus and the apostles gather ears of corn. | 9 Peter and Paul preach to Jews and Gentiles. | |
| 10 Jacob meets Rachel at the well. | 11 Jesus and the woman of Samaria. | 12 Rebekah gives drink to Eliezer (<i>Jacob</i> in the MS.). | |
| 13 Moses with the Law, and the synagogue. | 14 The Samaritans brought to Jesus by the woman. | 15 The Gentile Church comes to Christ. | |

In the MS. nos. 10 and 12 occupy the places of nos. 13 and 15. I have interchanged them. Very probably 11 and 14 occupied one medallion.

Mr Austin's restoration of the window is as follows:

Christ casts devils out of two men.	Mary Magdalene washes Christ's feet.	Angel and devil.
Mary Magdalene's charity.	—	Drusiana's charity.
The woman of Samaria and the Villagers.	Mary, Martha, and Christ.	Peter and John.
The apostles at the mill.	—	Peter preaching.
Leah, Jacob, and Rachel.	Christ and the woman of Samaria.	Gentile Church and Christ.
Rebekah and Eliezer.	—	Jacob and Rachel at the well.

This restoration seems to me clearly erroneous in that it omits the subject of Jesus and the Apostles gathering corn and inserts that of Mary Magdalene's charity, which does not appear in the MS. It also upsets the arrangement of type and antitype in the lower part of the window.

Window VI¹.

1 *The Gentiles hearken.	2 Jesus speaks with the apostles.	3 *The Pharisees turn away.
4 Pharisees tempting Jesus.	5 *The Sower: a. The birds. b. The seed in shallow ground.	6 *Pharisees departing.
7 *The rich of this world.	8 *The Sower: a. The seed among thorns. b. The seed in good ground.	9 *Noah, Daniel and Job.
10 *The three sons of Noah.	11 The Three Measures of Meal.	12 *The three estates of Virginity, Continence and Widowhood.
13 The just enter Paradise.	14 The Net: The Harvest: good and bad fish.	15 The wicked go to Hell.
16 Jesus as Priest and King.	17 The feeding of the Five Thousand.	18 The Synagogue with Moses, the Church with John.

¹ The subjects marked with an asterisk still exist.

In Mr Austin's restoration the series of subjects is made to read from below upwards. Thus:

Moses.	Feeding of 5000.	John Baptist.
Wheat in garner.	Reapers.	Hell.
Separating Fish.	Net.	Angels and devils with souls.
Three Estates.	Three Measures of Meal.	Three sons of Noah.
Noah, David, Job.	Sower.	Rich.
Christ preaches.	Sower and birds.	Christ. Jews turn away.
Gentiles.	Christ and apostles.	Pharisees.

This is the window in which the scribe of the roll has made his worst mistakes. He has inserted nos. 16—18 in window IV. and has also put a large section of window VIII. into window VI. Mr Austin is demonstrably wrong in his placing of nos. 1 and 3, for both pictures still exist and their form shows that 1 must have been on the left and 3 on the right.

Window VII.

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 1 The Gentile Church
with Jesus. | 2 Jesus heals the Sy-
rophoenician's
daughter. | 3 The Vision of Peter
(Acts x.). |
| 4 Moses with the books
of the Law. | 5 The man healed at
Bethesda. | 6 Christ baptizing. |
| 7 Angels clothe the
rising dead. | 8 The Transfiguration. | 9 Angels bring souls
to God. |
| 10 Peter finds the stater
in the fish's mouth. | 11 Jesus goes up to
Jerusalem. | 12 ? The Crucifixion. |
| 13 Monks wash the feet
of the poor. | 14 A child set in the
midst of the
apostles. | 15 Kings obey the
teaching of Peter
and Paul. |
| 16 Christ on the Cross. | 17 The Shepherd brings
back the Lost
Sheep. | 18 The Harrowing of
Hell. |

Nos. 10—12 cause a difficulty. It is not clear from the roll whether 10 or 11 ought to be the central subject: but as the fish is said in the verse to be the type of Christ, I have placed it on the left. Both the title and the legend of no. 12 seem incomplete. The title is *Dominus crucifigitur in cruce factus*: and the legend has only one line instead of two. "God, made a mocking-stock of the multitude, is cast out of the city."

No. 17 is said in the roll to have had no legend: and the statement seems to have applied to nos. 16 and 18 as well.

Window VIII.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 Peter and Paul absolve penitents. | 2 The Debtor forgiven by his Lord. | 3 Christ forgives believers. |
| 4 Stephen stoned. | 5 The Debtor beats his fellow servant. | 6 Paul stoned. |
| 7 The wicked sent to Hell-fire. | 8 The Debtor given to the tormentors. | 9 The Jews slaughtered (?) by the Romans. |
| 10 Isaiah preaching. | 11 The King sends out servants to invite guests. | 12 John (Baptist) preaching. |
| 13 Some follow a king: some flee. | 14 Those invited excuse themselves. | 15 Peter preaches: they follow Moses and the synagogue. |
| 16 The dead arise. | 17 The King visits the guests. | 18 The Blessed are called by Christ. |
| 19 Jesus casts the traders out of the temple. | 20 The Man without a wedding garment is cast out. | 21 Ananias and Sapphira die. |

Window IX.

1	The Traveller falls among thieves.	[5 Conviction.]
2	Creation of Adam.	6 Expulsion.
3	Creation of Eve.	[7 Beginning of Toil.]
4	Fall.	
9	Moses, Aaron, and Pharaoh.	12 The Law Given.
10	Tau written on the lintel.	13 The Golden Calf.
11	The Exodus.	14 The Brazen Ser- pent.
16	The Betrayal.	15 The Samaritan takes him to the Inn.
17	The Scourging (?).	19 The Entombment.
18	The Crucifixion.	20 The Resurrection.
22	The Holy Spirit be- tween God and Man.	21 The angel and the women.
23	Jesus sends disciples to fetch the ass.	24 Jesus between Peter and Paul.
25	Peter brings the Jew- ish (?) Church.	26 The disciples bring the ass and foal.
28	Isaiah (Zechariah) with scroll: <i>Be- hold thy King cometh</i> , etc.	27 Paul brings the Gen- tile (?) Church.
29	Jesus riding on the ass, met by child- ren.	30 David with scroll: <i>Out of the mouths of babes</i> , etc.

There are several doubtful points here. The subjects of the *Conviction* and *Beginning of Toil* seem indicated in the verses, but not in the titles of the Roll. Perhaps the first scene of the Parable may have had only four types. If so, the *Fall* should be transferred to the right-hand side.

No. 17. The Scourging. In the Roll there is here a title *The maid accusing Peter*: but there is no allusion to this in the verses where the scourging is mentioned.

It is doubtful to me whether nos. 22—30 do really belong to this window. The Parable of the Good Samaritan would amply suffice to fill the whole space, and usually does so in the instances I have seen.

Window X.

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1 Abigail meets David. | 2 Jairus' daughter raised. | 3 Constantine dissuaded from slaughtering children. |
| 4 Penitence of Solomon. | 5 The widow's son at Nain raised. | 6 Penitence of Theophilus. |
| 7 Jonah before Nineveh. | 8 Lazarus raised. | 9 Penitence of St Mary of Egypt. |

I have already noted that the three raisings from the dead were held to typify three stages of sin.

Window XI.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 David bearing himself in his hands. | 2 The Last Supper. | 3 The Manna. |
| 4 Laban washes the camels' feet. | 5 Jesus washes the Apostles' feet. | 6 Abraham washes the angels' feet. |
| 7 Joseph sold. | 8 The Betrayal. | 9 Joab slays Abner (Amasa). |
| 10 Job smitten with boils. | 11 The Scourging. | 12 Elisha mocked. |

Window XII.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|---|
| 1 Isaac bearing the wood. | 2 Jesus bearing the Cross. | 3 The widow of Zarephath with the two sticks. |
| 4 The Brazen Serpent. | 5 Jesus nailed to the Cross. | 6 The Red Heifer. |
| 8 Death of Abel. | 7 The Deposition. | 10 Moses sprinkles blood on the lintel. |
| 9 Elisha raises the Shunammite's son. | | 11 The foreheads of the righteous marked with <i>Tau</i> (Ezek. ix.). |
| 12 Samson in Gaza. | 13 The Entombment. | 14 Jonah swallowed by the fish. |

- | | | |
|--|-----------------------------|---|
| 16 David rescues the lamb. | 15 The Harrowing of Hell. | 18 Samson rends the lion. |
| 17 Samson carries away the gates. | | 19 Daniel kills the dragon (<i>Bel and Dragon</i>). |
| 20 Jonah cast up by the fish. | 21 The Resurrection. | 22 David let down from the window. |
| 23 The lion revives his cub. | 24 The Angel and the women. | 25 Joseph released from prison. |
| <hr/> | | |
| 26 St Gregory washes the hands of the poor. Christ appears to him. | | 27 St Gregory dictates. Peter the deacon writes the Hermit and his cat. |
| 28 The Host changed into the form of a finger. | | 29 St Gregory made Pope against his will. |

Possibly no. 26 and no. 27 should be counted as two medallions each.

From the titles as given in the Roll nos. 10 and 11 might be taken as one subject. The verses, however, make it quite clear that two subjects were represented.

The present position of the extant remains of these twelve windows has been already indicated: but it will be worth while to devote rather more space to them. In the first place I should like to make a retraction on my own account. I have more than once in print cited the fact that of the twelve windows only so much survives as to fill two windows now, as a sample of the dreadful neglect and vandalism of the eighteenth century: for I had supposed that the series was still entire when Somner, and even Battely, wrote. This is a complete mistake. Somner, Battely, and every one else who has printed the account of the twelve windows, has been directly or indirectly dependent upon the Roll. In the time of Gostling, whose long life covered the period of greatest neglect (the last quarter of the eighteenth and first quarter of the nineteenth century), no more of this glass was existing than exists now. Gostling's description of it, represented in the *Notes* already mentioned, is a remarkably minute and accurate one, and enables us to check the condition of the glass in his day very satisfactorily. It is of course more than

probable that there was neglect and even some amount of destruction under the early Georges: but it is clear that the loss of the greater part of the windows is not due to that but to wilful breakage, perpetrated, I suppose, by Culmer and other such-like brutes during the Cromwellian period.

In the next place I will put out in tabular form a statement of the position of the existing fragments of the glass, which now fill two windows in the north aisle of the choir. Diagrams of them, and illustrations of some portions, are to be found in the *Notes*.

Window B¹.

1 Half-circle. Balaam. II. 1.	2 Square. The Pillar of Fire. II. 4.	3 Half-circle. Isaiah and Jerusalem. II. 3.
4 Square. Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. II. 7.	5 Circle. Herod and the Kings. II. 5.	6 Square. Christ and the Gentiles. II. 6.
7 Circle. Adoration of the Magi. II. 8.	8 Square. Joseph, his brethren, and the Egyptians. II. 9.	9 Circle. Jeroboam and the Prophet. II. 12.
10 Square. Lot and Sodom. II. 10.	11 Circle. The Magi warned. II. 11.	12 Square. Pharisees depart from Christ. VI. 6.
13 Circle. Samuel presented. II. 13.	14 Square. Presentation of Christ. II. 14.	15 Square. The Three Sons of Noah. VI. 10.
16 Square. The Three Estates. VI. 12.	17 Circle. Noah, David and Job. VI. 9.	18 Square. The Sower: the Birds, etc. VI. 5.
19 Square. The Sower: the Thorns. VI. 8.	20 Right portion of circle. The Rich of this world. VI. 7.	21 Circle. The Sower: the Birds, etc. VI. 5.

Nos. 1—14 are *in situ*. The remaining subjects are all from window VI.

¹ See the plan, p. 39.

Window C¹.

	2 Circle.	
1 Half-circle. Moses and Jethro. III. 1.	Jesus and the Doctors. III. 2.	3 Half-circle. Daniel and the Elders. III. 3.
	5 Circle.	
4 Half-circle. Noah in the Ark. III. 4.	The Apostles fish- ing. IV. 8.	6 Half-circle. The Six Ages of Man. IV. 6.
	8 Circle.	
7 Half-circle. The Six Ages of the World. IV. 4.	The Miracle of Cana. IV. 5.	9 Half-circle. Peter and the Jewish Church. IV. 7.
	11 Circle.	
10 Quarter-circle. The Pharisees turn away. VI. 3.	Call of Nathanael. IV. 2.	12 Quarter-circle. The Gentiles seek the Gospel. VI. 1.

Nos. 1—4 are *in situ*. The interstices between the circles and half-circles are filled with small circular medallions not containing pictures.

Of windows I., V., VII.—XII. no remains exist.

THE POSITION OF THE WINDOWS.

Can we determine the position of the whole series?

At one time I thought that this was possible and, indeed, an accomplished fact; but a recent visit to Canterbury has shown me that my hypothetical arrangement was an impossible one, and has filled me with doubts as to the possibility of discovering the truth. The nature of my difficulties will appear as I proceed.

There are one or two points which may be regarded as established. The first is that the series begins at the west end of the north aisle of the choir. This is in agreement

¹ See the plan, p. 39.

which are some of the best now as I conjecture, not all but pretty certainly genuine, which runs thus—

"The windows in the upper part of Christ Church, Canterbury, beginning in the north side."

It is to be seen by the presence of portions of glass, evidently so, in the two windows which have just been described.

Secondly it is fairly evident that in the twelve windows must be looked for in the upper story. Glass of so minute and delicate a kind as that which which we are dealing must have been placed as near the level of the eye as possible.

Thirdly the field of our research is bounded on the east and on the west. On the west by the great transepts which cannot possibly come into consideration; on the east by the Trinity Chapel. Large portions of the original glass exist in the windows of this part of the church. It is of a fine and fine removed from most of the twelve windows, and with the exception of two windows in the Chapel illustrates the life and manners of St Thomas of Canterbury.

The following portions of the building then are open to us. The north and south choir sides, the eastern transept, and perhaps a bay or even more eastward of that. In this portion are the following windows.

In the north choir aisle three the westernmost blocked (A B C) In the N.E. transept. one in the west wall (D)

, , , two in the north wall (E F)

, , , two in the east wall (G H)

Last of the east window in the north wall (I)

On the south side

Last of the S.E. transept. one window in the south wall (K)

In the S.E. transept. two in the east wall (L M)

, , , two in the south wall (N O)

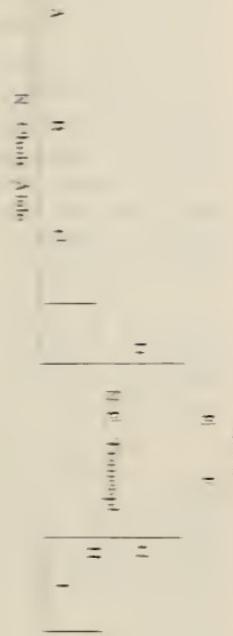
, , , one in the west wall (P)

In the south choir aisle three (Q R S)

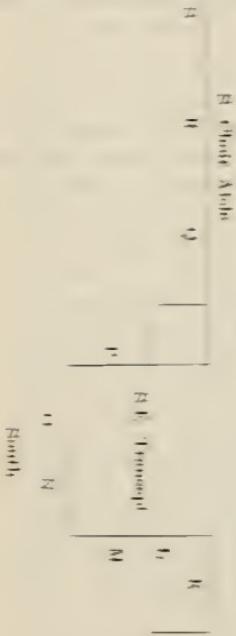
In all eighteen windows.

From this list we may at once strike out the four windows in the east walls of N.E. and S.E. transepts (G H L M). They are too large and cover the full compartment and form

West



East



Key-plan of a portion of the Choir of Lanternery Cathedral.

The letters of the numbers indicate windows.

analogy, and also from fragments of old glass still remaining in one, I conjecture that they illustrated the deeds of the Saints to whom the altars below them were dedicated. Fourteen windows are thus left, and we have glass for twelve of them.

As to the positions of the first six I have really no doubt at all. They are the three windows in the north choir aisle, and those in the west and north walls of the N.E. transept.

We will take these windows singly.

I. The window A, westernmost in the north choir aisle, has now no glass in it. Gostling tells us that it was blocked up to make room for the staircase to the organ-loft, which, as Dart's view shows, was once above the stalls on the north side. The glass is said to have been destroyed in 1642, and Gostling speaks of the "lead-work" as being visible in his time. It is not to be seen now.

The window contained only 12 subjects in four groups of three each. It is too narrow to allow of their having been arranged in horizontal rows. The side-subjects must have been rather below the central ones. The window Q in the south choir aisle gives an idea of the probable disposition.

2. The second window, B, has a large portion (14 subjects) of its glass *in situ*. There were originally 21 subjects in seven rows of three. Each row consisted alternately of a square between two circles and a circle between two squares. All the compartments in the iron-work are rectangular. The circular pictures had spandrels of decorative work.

3. The third window, C, had 12 subjects, of which the first four are *in situ*. The central column of pictures consisted of circles, the lateral ones of half-circles rather below the central ones, on each side. The interstices, as I have said, were filled with small decorative medallions.

4. The fourth window had 18 subjects, of which six are now in window C. They consisted of half-circles and circles, and were of the same dimensions as those of window C. The window (D) in the west wall of the N.E. transept suits these conditions exactly. Its iron-work is apparently original.

5. Of the glass of the fifth window no remains exist. It had 16 subjects: in one case I conjecture that one medallion contained two scenes. There would, according to my notion, have been four groups of these subjects, and two groups of two. The westerumost window (E) in the N. wall of the N.E. transept has iron-work which points to three groups, each of four subjects surrounding a central circle.

6. The sixth window contained 18 subjects, nine of which are now in existence, seven of them being in window B, and two in window C. Two are quarter-circles, four are squares, and three are or have been complete circles. The general arrangement evidently resembled that of window B. The window F, easterumost in the west wall of the N.E. transept, contains iron-work for 18 subjects, all rectangular: so that, as in window B, the circular subjects must have been filled out into squares by spandrels of ornament.

Of the remaining six windows no fragment now exists: and the iron-work does not help me towards ascertaining their positions. We have the following *data* to satisfy.

The seventh window had 18 subjects in sets of three.

The eighth window, 21 subjects in sets of three.

The ninth, 28 subjects: three groups of either five or seven and three groups of three. The window K, east of the S.E. transept, would perhaps have contained the first three groups.

I am inclined to suspect that the scribe of the Roll has been careless here, and has mixed two windows up together, the Good Samaritan and the Entry into Jerusalem. Perhaps the last nine subjects of no. IX. may really have been in no. X., which is described as containing only nine subjects in sets of three.

The eleventh window had 12 subjects in sets of three. This suits well enough with the iron-work of window Q, west of the S.E. transept.

The twelfth window had, according to the Roll, no less than 30 subjects. The first 25 seem to have been partly in sets of three, partly in sets of five. These were followed by either

four or six scenes from the life of St Gregory, which are pretty clearly only a fragment of a larger window¹.

I can find no window in that part of the Cathedral which is open to us large enough to have contained all the glass. The one that approaches the required dimensions most nearly is R, immediately opposite to B, and of the same size. Its present iron-work is like that of B, but seems modern.

The windows in the south and west wall of the S.E. transept (N, O, P) have elaborate iron-work which may be modern, and which in any case will not accommodate the glass of any of the windows in the Roll. The same may be said of window S in the south choir aisle, which corresponds in size and position to A, and at present contains three groups of five subjects in modern glass.

To sum up: windows I.—VI. in the Roll correspond with windows A—F on the plan. Windows XI. and XII. may very probably be equated with Q and R. For the rest I can at present find no place.

I cannot help suspecting that a thirteenth window must have been at least designed, if it was never executed. It is needed to bring the series to the proper and customary conclusion. In it the chain of events would have been carried on through the appearances of our Lord after the Resurrection (especially those to Mary Magdalene, to Thomas, and to the disciples at Emmaus); it would have continued with the Ascension, and would have ended with the Descent of the Holy Ghost, or perhaps with the Last Judgment. Such a window might very fittingly have been placed westernmost in the south aisle of the choir, corresponding in position to no. I. on the north side.

¹ They may very possibly have been transferred from window M (E. wall of S.E. transept), below which was an altar of St Gregory.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

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